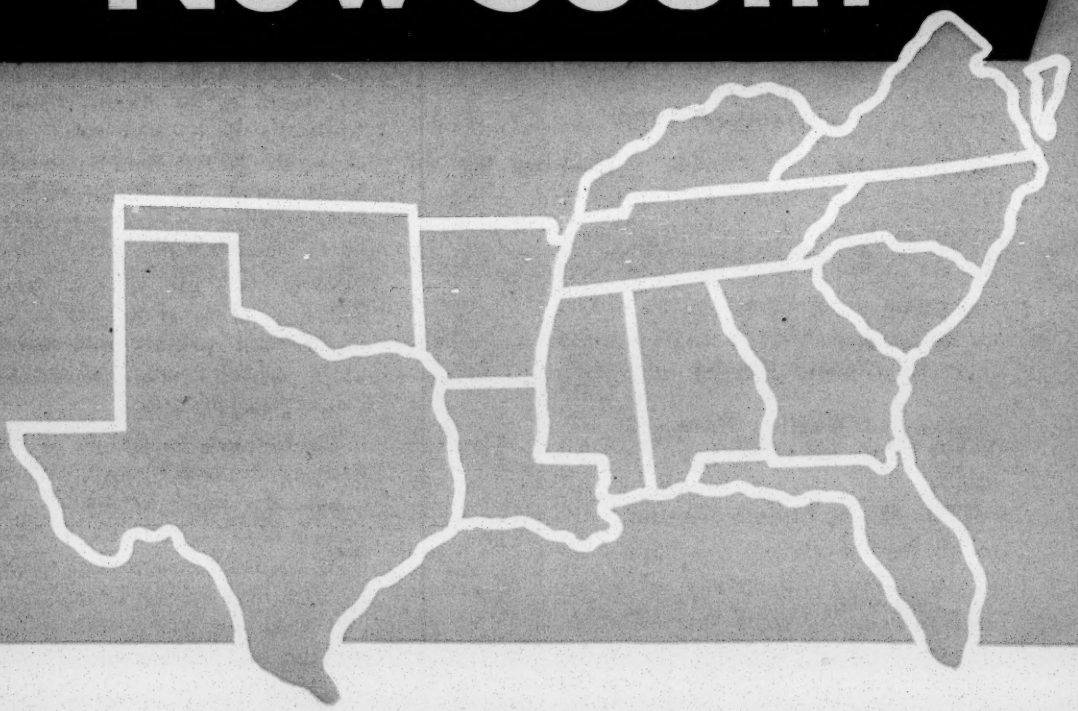
New South



- **A Fresh Look at Race Relations**
  Chester Bowles
- **Survey of Waiting Room Facilities**
- **What Might Follow School Closings**

SEPTEMBER | 1959

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

September, 1959

Volume 14 **Number 9**

Contents

A Fresh Look at Race Relations by Chester Bowles 3

Survey of Waiting Rooms in 21 Southern Cities 11

What Might Follow Closing of Schools 13

. . . Unquote 15

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South Notes

Chester Bowles, former governor of Connecticut and U. S. Ambassador to India, took the topic, "A Fresh Look at Race Relations," for his speech to the Annual Health, Welfare, and Recreation Conference of the Health and Welfare Council. In the speech, Mr. Bowles outlines seven guidelines he believes are helpful in race relations.

NEW SOUTH believes these guidelines to be of interest to its readers and reprints the speech which appeared originally in the *Congressional Record*.

The Research Department of the Southern Regional Council recently completed a survey of practices in waiting room facilities for air line, train, and bus terminals in 21 Southern cities. The findings of this study have been published in one of the Council's Special Reports. A news release detailing the highlights of this report is included in this issue of NEW SOUTH. As is stated in the report, "The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of . . . terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may rise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities."

The closing of public schools to avoid desegregation has been a much-discussed topic in the South recently especially in Virginia and in Little Rock. NEW SOUTH reprints an editorial from the Pulitzer Prize-winning ARKANSAS GAZETTE in which the editorial writers point out "What Might Follow Closing of the Public Schools."

A FRESH LOOK AT RACE RELATIONS*

By Chester Bowles

Speech to Health and Welfare Council

With considerable hesitation, I have decided to take this occasion to discuss our most critical and embittering social problem—race relations.

This week is a particularly good time to take stock. Five years ago last Sunday our Supreme Court ruled that color alone could no longer bar any child from a public school.

It was a momentous occasion and we all felt it. Those who had long favored desegregation thought the struggle had been won. And most of those who opposed it assumed that the only question left unanswered was the timing and the technique. The fact itself was accepted by the vast majority of Americans—north, east, south, and west.

Since then, more than one-fourth of the bi-racial school districts in the 17 southern and border States which officially practiced school segregation have been nominally desegregated, usually in a quiet and healthy manner which has escaped the headlines. In this connection the record of the District of Columbia, which so many of you helped to write, has been historic.

But these five years also have been scarred with smoldering resentments, defiance of court orders, and outbreaks of violence.

These expressions of racial conflict have not been limited to our Southern States. Nor are they symbolized merely by a deserted school in Little Rock.

On the contrary, the attempted bombing of an integrated high school in Hobbs, N. Mex., a white mob stoning a Negro home in Levittown, Pa., an outburst of racial gang war in Chicago—these are signs to give pause to all the participants in America's racial conflict.

In 1954 the Nation as a whole underestimated the significance and meaning of the Supreme Court's decision. Since then we have tragically missed opportunities for constructive action.

After several years of optimism and complacency it is now clear that integration is a bigger, more stubborn, more universal, and more important problem than many of us imagined. We know now that racial differences and discrimination go deeper than Supreme Court decisions, not to mention paratroopers, can reach.

All of us, North and South, Negro and white, need to think anew.

Where and how do we go from here?

For we must go on in fulfilling the promises of the Constitution and of our national conscience. We can pause for reappraisal, but we cannot stop or go back.

The problem is full of agony and, as in most great issues, no one side has a monopoly of truth. Each has its points

**From Congressional Record.*

Fresh Look

(Continued)

which must be considered with both humility and tolerance. All of us need to be awakened from our dogmatism and from our cliches.

My remarks today will undoubtedly disappoint those who have taken extreme positions in this controversy. Yet my approach inevitably reflects my personal experience—as a longtime friend of the South, as a former Governor of a northern industrial State, as a former Administrator of a large Federal agency in the turmoil of wartime Washington, and as U. S. Ambassador to India, where I saw our difficulties as the dark-skinned two-thirds of the world see them.

I offer my views not as solutions, but as guidelines to the kind of national discussion which I think is long overdue.

1. We must recognize the problem of discrimination as a national, not a sectional one.

Half of all American Negroes now live in the North. There is now no northern city without its tensions and its shame.

Not Sectional

Yet many northerners still smugly look at racial discrimination as a sectional problem. Thus they condemn what they consider to be the slow pace of integration in the South, while remaining indifferent or nearly so to the discrimination all around them.

There are 39 States outside the South. Only 19 have established Fair Employment Practices Commissions. In the other non-Southern States, there has been no legislative action on employment discrimination at all.

Since 1949, when we in Connecticut first authorized our State Commission on Civil Rights to prevent discrimination in publicly owned housing, there has been some progress elsewhere. Yet today only nine States outside the South have adopted anti-discrimination legislation affecting publicly assisted housing. In 30 other non-Southern States, no official action to end housing discrimination has occurred.

Slum Problem

The great northern and western industrial cities are all drawing Negroes out of the South, and are all faced with the demoralization of city slum life that goes beyond race.

There are five times as many Negroes in Chicago as in Birmingham, four times as many in Detroit as in New Orleans, six times as many in Los Angeles as in Miami.

In most northern cities the professed equal protection of the laws still hides extensive segregation in fact—by residential exclusion, and by the natural selection of poverty. In few of our major northern cities do more than 20 percent of the Negro students attend school with white children.

To be sure, some cities such as New Haven, Pittsburgh, and Washington are now taking far-reaching steps to rebuild themselves, including the slum clearance and human rehabilitation essential to the solution of racial conflicts.

Yet almost any northern community that honestly examines its own racial relations will realize how far it is from living up to its professed ideals. And

once we see what is missing in our own cities and States, we will be less inclined to feel that it is enough to denounce the foolhardy actions of white extremists south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Nothing will speak more persuasively to the South than a better example among the too-ready critics farther North.

2. The Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court will ultimately prevail.

The Constitution, after all, is color-blind. The 14th amendment does require the end of racial discrimination in all parts of our public life. The universal declaration of human rights, endorsed overwhelmingly by the people of the world, affirms this as one of the first principles of world order.

Moreover, our Constitution will be enforced. The Supreme Court has ordered desegregation with all deliberate speed.

Negro litigants will see that this is complied with—and the new Negro arising in the South and elsewhere, will supply all the litigants necessary, no matter what pressures are organized to stop him.

Observance

There can be no question but that in parts of the South, school desegregation will continue for some time to be massively resisted. The courts, the Department of Justice, and the President have no choice but to enforce the Constitution, gradually, case by case, step by step.

The courts and the country obviously will accept very gradual steps in good faith compliance. But regardless of what party is in power, the observance of the law ultimately will prevail.

The great hope, however, is not for a reluctant and grudging acceptance of the inevitable force of the law. Rather, the hope is that recognition of historical necessity will encourage an increasing effort to bring the various elements in each community into harmony.

Persuasion

3. We must supplement litigation with persuasion.

Of course the law itself is a powerful teacher. The end of segregation in the Armed Forces, in the Nation's Capital, and on interstate trains did more to convince many skeptics that integration in these areas made sense than any amount of talk could have done.

There appears to be a temptation, however, to rest on the oars of lawyers and judges and say that this is all now a matter of law and order.

The President seemed to say precisely this when he stressed that he has told no one, not even his wife, whether he thinks the Supreme Court desegregation decision was right or wrong.

But Court orders alone will not suffice to change the minds and hearts of people. Somehow those who seek to end racial prejudice must go deeper than statutes and Court decisions.

If this were merely a legal issue between those who believe in upholding the law and those who seek to circumvent it, then there would have been no issue until the Supreme Court acted in 1954. But this turns the problem upside down.

The Court acted because the constitutional guarantee of equality involves the deepest political principles of this Na-

tion and because there was a moral issue presented which went to the heart of our Bill of Rights and our Christian civilization.

The law does not get its sanction merely because it is the law. It wins support because it embodies the moral purpose of society.

The task of our political leaders, and of all who want to establish equal rights is not only that of invoking and carrying out court decisions but also of convincing people that they are right.

That is why the proposal for an independent Federal agency like the "Community Relations Service" advocated by the Senate majority leader. Senator Lyndon Johnson, could be so important. Conciliation, provided it is consistent with the guarantees of the Constitution, is precisely what is needed to help the law.

Communication

As Senator Johnson himself has said: "Controversies involving civil rights have reached a point where they can be paralyzing to whole communities. But they are controversies which can be settled if the yawning chasm between people can be bridged * * * (by keeping) open the channels of communication among our people."

4. The new generation, white and Negro, must rise above the deep-seated prejudices of their elders.

The spectacle of Negro children in Little Rock, Clinton, Sturgis, Nashville. and the integrating cities of North Carolina walking quietly to and from school through jeering, angry mobs shocked most Americans, as it did people around the world.

When one remembers the fears of childhood—of changing to a new school, even when everyone is friendly and of the same race—one can imagine how these lonely Negro children felt in the midst of unfriendly white crowds.

Children Lead

Yet is not the old prophecy coming alive again? Are not the children leading us now?

In almost every city and town in the South where school integration has begun, the children are making out all right together. "If the grownups would just leave us alone, there would be no trouble," said a white student in Little Rock.

5. White and Negro moderates both have an historic role to play.

Many white southerners are still content to say that the problem will take a long time to solve and that the Negro must be patient.

No thoughtful man expects a quick solution. But we cannot afford to forget that a lot of time has already passed.

It is now 96 years since emancipation. 183 years since a southerner wrote the declaration to which this Nation is dedicated.

That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men—these are not just the words of Thomas Jefferson. They are the political creed of this country. Yet the historic timetable for establishing these equal rights for all Americans has been gradual indeed.

The white southerner nevertheless has

a case he can and should make. Generations of slavery, second-class Negro citizenship, inferior schools, houses and jobs are now plaguing us in the form of high rates of disease and crime and a low level of education in areas where Negroes predominate.

To be sure, such demoralization is also the state of much of the rural poor whites of the South and Puerto Ricans brought up and trapped in our congested urban slums.

But the Negro has been an outcast longest, has suffered most, and is now the most extreme example of a problem facing the whole country.

This argument is indeed a good reason for doing more than simply integrating the schools. It underscores the need for getting at the very conditions which produce the demoralization in the first place.

The demoralization of the Negro does endanger southern white society, just as the demoralization of any member of a community endangers that community.

Moderate

Take a county where a depressed Negro population outnumbers the white two or three or four to one. If that Negro community is ill housed, ill fed, ill clad, if it is sick, ignorant, and angry, can a relatively well-off white minority be "safe" in any meaningful sense of the word?

Or take a big southern city. In half of the town is a Negro slum, breeding uneducated bitterness, juvenile crime and racial violence, what kind of community will this be for the white people who pretend to want to live there?

The new South that is now taking shape has no room for low and inhuman standards of life for anyone.

Instead of using demoralization as an excuse for doing nothing about integration, it should cause the southern moderate to insist that a vast amount more must be done in a number of fields.

Far-Reaching Program

We need a far-reaching program to end the demoralization of much of the Negro community and of the poor whites as well. By championing slum clearance and measures for adequate housing and public health, the white South might then be in a position to ask the Negroes, the courts, and the rest of the country to accept a realistic pace for school integration—perhaps beginning only in the first grade and at the college and university level, with a voluntary transfer system, with even segregation by sex in some areas where co-education adds to the fears about integration.

But by holding back, southern moderates leave the field not only to the white demagogues but to future Negro demagogues.

So far Negro leadership has been on the whole remarkably intelligent and restrained and the Negro people have accepted its counsel. They have steadily offered the hand of friendship and compromise for acceptance by at least some substantial part of the white South.

A new Negro is standing up in the South and elsewhere. His expectations may not all be met. But some good and true men of the white South must meet him face to face, must sit down at roundtable conference, must talk with him and understand him.

Without such a minimum response,

it is too much to expect that the majority of Negroes will forever stand by the moderate ministers of the Gospel and the well-trained lawyers who now speak for them.

6. I believe that the Christian Church must take the initiative in advancing a racial reconciliation.

Let's face it: In many churches in America, a minister who goes against the prevailing sentiment of his congregation risks his job as much as the politician who alienates his constituents.

But from the beginning of the Christian era, it has been the church's duty to prevail against erroneous opinions, even at the price of martyrdom. Surely the church today should be the last citadel against the public relations approach that has infected so much of American life.

Many bishops and ministers in the South have spoken against violence and in favor of law and order. But is this enough?

Reason Together

There will be violence, and the law will be frustrated, unless the two sides in the racial conflict now splitting every southern community begin to communicate again with each other, to negotiate, to reason together, to find common remedies.

Is this not the time for the white and Negro ministers of every southern community to form a continuing round-table conference dedicated to finding Christian solutions to the racial problems of their community?

For, after all, no country should be in a better position than the United States of America to solve this problem this way. Not only do we have nearly two centuries of democratic experience behind us, but the racial groups in this country, particularly in the South, have the great good fortune and blessing to share the identical Christian faith.

Brother's Keeper

It is no coincidence that it was a white minister in the South, perhaps the most fervently religious section of our country, who said of the integration crisis: "There's just one question to ask: what would Christ do?"

In our hearts we know the final answer. We know that Christ came to demonstrate the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We know we are our brother's keeper.

We know too that we have done those things which we ought not to have done and left undone those things we ought to have done.

We know that the pride of race, the fear of the strange and the different is one of man's original sins and that it has not been fully erased from man's mind anywhere.

But we also know, as Lincoln said, that the Declaration of Independence "gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world. It gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

Our religious and democratic faith tells us to get on with this job like men.

7. Our capacity to deal with discrimination in America is a measure of our

capacity to lead a worldwide revolution for freedom.

My own perspective on this problem has been, I confess, affected by looking at it for some time from the other side of the globe. As a former Ambassador to India, I know how spectacularly American prestige rose as a result of the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

While touring Africa four years ago I sensed again how vital a successful solution of our racial troubles is for our future relationship with the two-thirds of the world's people who are colored.

In the winter of 1957 in South Asia I saw the enthusiasm generated by the successful conclusion of the Negroes' bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. Later in the Soviet Union I saw the Communists take full propaganda advantage of the bombing of Negro churches in the same State.

Of course we can say that prejudice is as old as the hills and just as persistent. India, for instance, has known conflict and caste through centuries of struggle between Hindus and Moslems, Brahmans and untouchables.

Not Isolated

In Algeria there is open warfare between the French minority and the Arab majority.

In all of Africa the outnumbered white man feels the stirring of the slumbering African masses.

Therefore as we Americans concentrate on a new effort on our own major social problem, we can take mild comfort from the awareness that our country does not stand alone in isolation as an immoral historic throwback to a bygone age of prejudice.

Having said this, I hasten to add what is merely the other side of this coin. The world community has a vested interest in the speed and effectiveness with which we end discrimination in the United States. Our own role in the world depends increasingly upon the same proposition.

World View

As is true in so many other aspects of our national policy today, the world situation is requiring us to do the things which we should do anyway. No one but a cynic would argue that we should suddenly become interested in equal rights for Negroes merely because our propaganda position in the world would be helped by such progress.

Nevertheless, it remains more true today than it was in 1947, when one of our distinguished former Secretaries of State, Henry L. Stimson wrote:

"No private program and no public policy, in any section of our national life can now escape from the compelling fact that if it is not framed with reference to the world, it is framed with perfect futility."

In closing, I should like to suggest that all of us, northerners and southerners, easterners and westerners, Negroes and white can learn much from a study of that incredible man, Mahatma Gandhi.

There were always two sides to Gandhi's program. One was direct resistance to unjust laws or practices. The other was constructive popular action to create the conditions of justice.

He began his career before the turn of the 20th century in the Union of South Africa where he went as a lawyer for some Indian traders.

Fresh Look

(Continued)

In 1893, South Africa was a land run by some million Europeans who sat on top of some 5 million Africans who had almost no rights at all. In addition, were 100,000 Indians, most of whom had been recruited as cheap labor for the white plantations and mines.

Soon after he reached Pretoria, the young man of 24 invited all the Indians in the city to a meeting. He urged them to fight racial discrimination but without hating or hurting their opponents.

And since their aim was to reason with the whites, the first thing they should do, he said, was to consider the reasons given by the whites for their discrimination.

To the Indian merchants before him, known for slick dealings and sharp bargainings, he proposed complete truthfulness and more concern for the poor. He called on all Indians to do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian sections of town.

Constructive Tasks

Why wait for legal victories for the necessary drain cleaning? he asked.

We can't blame the whites for all our troubles, he argued. Perhaps we can't by ourselves end all the poverty in which our people are trapped, but if those of us with some money and some education will join in, the slums can be cleaned up, freshened with a coat of paint and made habitable; the illiterate adults can be taught to read; volunteer schools can be provided for the children of the poor.

And he began to build the institutions to do these constructive tasks.

In 1913 he returned to India, after negotiating a settlement with Prime Minister Smuts who once jailed him but later came to say to him, "I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man." And for over 30 years in India, Gandhi pressed his constructive program of village improvement, the end of untouchability, and the reform of individual lives.

Gandhian Principle

The bus boycott in Montgomery carried out with dignity and restraint represented an adaptation of Gandhian principles in democratic America.

"We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery but the whole of Montgomery," said Rev. Martin Luther King on the occasion of the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association which conducted the boycott.

Instead of merely sitting by until the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation unconstitutional, the Negroes of Montgomery in amazing unity carried out a courageous, peaceful, direct action which took the Nation by surprise.

The long-term effects of this Gandhian-type action on the white conscience may take time to register. But it had an immediate effect in changing the Negroes.

Perhaps the change is best reflected in the story of the old Negro woman who, when asked if her feet were not tired from plodding so many miles each day to work replied, "Brother, for a long time my feet has rested, but my soul's been tired. Now my feet are tired, but my soul is resting."

In this light, with good cheer, let us move ahead with all deliberate speed.

SURVEY OF WAITING ROOMS IN 21 SOUTHERN CITIES

Southern

Regional Council

News Release

A survey of racial practices in waiting room facilities in 21 leading Southern cities reveals that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly are being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; and that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated."

The report, released by the Southern Regional Council, includes Little Rock, Ark.; Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, and Tampa, Fla.; Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon, Ga.; Louisville, Ky.; Charlotte, and Greensboro, N. C.; Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, and Nashville, Tenn.; and Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, and Lynchburg, Va.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed for more than 75 years, and it was not until November 25, 1955, that any substantial breakdown of train and bus waiting room segregation began. On that date, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates train and bus travel across state lines, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on trains and buses and in waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. The decision declared, in part:

> "The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue

Waiting Rooms

(Continued)

and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

The survey reveals that practices differ widely from city to city and even in cities within the same states. There are, moreover, the Council reports, inconsistencies in waiting room practices of a single type of carrier in a particular city. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change.

"Furthermore," the Council reports, "there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous."

AIR LINES

All 20 cities (Portsmouth does not have air line service) have non-segregated waiting rooms, and 17 of the cities offer non-segregated service in terminal restaurants, at least to some degree. Rest rooms reportedly are segregated in only four of 19 cities from which information was received.

TRAINS

Seven of the cities surveyed have non-segregated waiting rooms in train terminals. In 10 of the remaining 14 cities, Negro *interstate* passengers have used the general waiting room. Negroes are allowed to sit in the same restaurant or at the same lunch counter as white travelers in five of the cities surveyed. Rest rooms in train terminals are non-segregated in eight of the cities.

BUSES

Only two of the 21 cities surveyed have completely non-segregated bus station waiting rooms although Negro *interstate* passengers are allowed to use the general waiting room in eight other cities. In six of these cities, Negro *intrastate* passengers infrequently use the "white" waiting room. There were no non-segregated restaurants reported, but limited service, such as snack bars, on a non-segregated basis was reported in three cities. Two cities have non-segregated rest rooms in bus stations.

AIR LINE LIMOUSINE AND TAXIS

The Council survey reveals that in this related field 17 cities offer non-segregated limousine service to and from air line terminals and 13 cities offer non-segregated taxi service.

The Council concludes:

"The surface of the 'cake of custom' is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, 'It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom.' A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel. . . .

"The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of the Southern bus, train, and air terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may arise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities. Courage, patience, and understanding are needed by all who would see orderly progress in the South."

WHAT MIGHT FOLLOW CLOSING OF SCHOOLS

Editorial

from

Arkansas Gazette

Arthur S. Flemming's report on the effects of such scattered school closings as have already taken place in the South was at once a lament for the needless waste of human talents which already has occurred and an implied warning signal for the future.

As secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Flemming's first concern must be the damage done to the locked-out pupils themselves. But as a Cabinet officer he also must be concerned with the manpower requirements which the defense mobilizers and economic planners must inject into almost every top-level discussion of this country's future direction.

In the unthinkable event of the abandonment of whole systems of public education in the South, the central government at Washington would be confronted with the alternatives of permitting an entire region to cut itself out of the national educational picture or moving in some fashion to fill the vacuum thus created for thousands upon thousands of young people who otherwise would be lost to industry's (and the cold war effort's) demand for more and yet more skilled technicians.

In such a dilemma, the federal government would probably move on new lines, regardless of the wrenching social and economic change implicit in the idea of a large-scale system of federal schools.

In such a situation the country as a whole—and Congress in particular — would be left with an issue beside which

Closing

(Continued)

many of today's seemingly insoluble problems would seem pale indeed.

There would be the question, first, of taxpayers in other, richer, sections of the country digging still deeper into their pockets to finance new services for a single section of the country which, for reasons of relative per capita income, is not now carrying its dollar share of the federal tax burden.

There would be, further, the precedent of a federal school system which in time might spread to other parts of the country, to the disservice not only of the federal Treasury but to the concept of locally directed education as we have always known it in this country.

Should a federal school program actually be launched in the South, whether to accommodate dispossessed Negroes or whites and Negroes together, there probably would be a tendency on the part of many white parents to rely in the beginning upon what might remain of the locally-supported public schools or upon whatever might spring up simultaneously in the way of segregated private schools. There might also be a parallel tendency to cut back on the local taxation required to support a system of local schools.

But if the past is any guide, we should find that more and more students would drift toward the federal schools, regardless of the convictions or prejudices which they and their parents may have had in the beginning. We all know by now that the federal government does not do things half-way. If money has anything to do with the quality of education—and it does, although not everything — the federal schools would inevitably prove to be superior in the make-up of their staffs and curricula and thus prove to be the superior attraction.

We should hate to think that in the end America would not be able to survive the technological race with the Communist world without some system of federal schools, and should hate to see the supposedly conservative South opening up such a prospect of further centralization by way of the back door, so to speak.

It is a thought for conservatives to ponder, as many of them, notably including Governor Almond of Virginia, appear to be doing in their searching second thoughts on the whole broad (and distasteful) subject of desegregation.

Recent SRC Publications Available

PAMPHLETS

Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis . . . Single copy—35¢.

If the Schools Are Closed . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan . . . Single copy—25¢ each.

SPECIAL REPORTS

Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities—10¢ each.

A Background on School Desegregation for 1959-60—20¢ each.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We affirm our support of the public school system, democratically controlled by the entire community, financed through general taxation, and open to all children without discrimination as to race, creed, or economic status."

The Evangelical and Reformed Church,
General Synod,
Quoted by Associated Press

• • •

"In the critical situation which exists in Arkansas at the present time, we call upon Methodists to support the cause of free education and if need be, to work actively for its continuance."

Board of Social and Economic Relations
North Arkansas Methodist Conference
Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*

• • •

"I know [that problems raised by public school integration are having adverse effect on industrial plant location decisions] because I sit in on meetings of various companies where these matters are discussed . . . I have heard them eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children."

Martin R. Gainsborough, Chief Economist
National Industrial Conference Board
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"As ministers, we are committed by the nature of our role to administer God's work in breaking down race barriers."

The Rev. Paul L. Stagg, Pastor,
First Baptist Church,
Front Royal, Virginia,
Quoted in *Washington Post*

• • •

"The evils of race discrimination and segregation have not been banished from our country but America will press steadily toward a full realization of that goal."

Nelson Rockefeller,
Governor of New York
Quoted by Associated Press

• • •

"It is a violation of God's will for any man to treat his fellowmen with contempt or to despise any particular race of man. We possess no evidence to prove the alleged superiority or inferiority of any race of people."

Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
Quoted by Associated Press